CHAPTER V.—PREPARING FOR REVOLUTION—ENGLAND.

The English seventeen century revolution was from the first purely middle-class, and as we hinted in our last it cast off most of its elements of enthusiasm and idealism in Cromwell's latter days; the burden of the now accelerated Puritanism which had played its part in the restoration of Monarchy; and on the other hand was England at all ripe for Republicanism; and so between these two disgusts it allowed itself to be led back again to the arms of Monarchy by the military adventurers who had seized on the power which Cromwell once willed. But this restoration of the Stuart monarchy was after all but a makeshift put up with because the defec- tion from the high-strung principle of the period of revolt left nothing to take the place of Cromwell's absolutism. The nation was quite out of sympathy with the Court, which was un- national and Catholic in tendency and advance. The nature itself though it had got rid of the severity of Puritanism was still Puritan, and welcomed the Sunday Act of Charles II. which gave legal stamp to Puritanism of the duller and more respectable kind. And though it was no longer a self-made people, it was not extinct. John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" shines out, though a religious romance, amidst the dulness of the literature of the time. The Quakers who represented in their beginning a narrow and religious side of the Levelers, arose and grew and flourished in spite of persecution; the Cameronians in Scotland, as we mentioned in our last chapter, made an industrial armed resistance dying out of enthusiasm; while across the Atlantic the stirrings of earlier Puritans carried on an almost theocratic government, which, by the way it be said, persecuted the Quakers most cruelly. Little by little, however, all that that great issue, that quite commonplace and respectable, died out in English Protestantism, and respectable indifferentism had carried all before it by the end of the century. Politics and religion had no longer the same relation. The influence of Individualism, or what the French understood by Socialism, disappears here, to come to light again in the next century under the leadership of Whitfield.

Yet, such as English Puritanism had become, its respectable, habitual, and formal residuum was strong enough to resuscitate James the Second's Papistry, and to make its resentment felt; while at the same time the constitutionalism which began the anti-absolutist opposition Charles the First's, and which had beenfounded by Crom- well's iron and Charles the Second's mud absolutism, gathered head again and began to take definite form. The Stuart monarchy, with its "divine right" of absolute sovereignty, was driven from England in the person of James the Second; and a revolution, first put in hand by William of Oranze, and constitutional party government began.

And, as the last chapter's was the prelude to the preface to the preface, so the preface to the preface to the preface to the preamble of the preface is a further development of the theory of the preamble. Henceforth, till our own times, respectable political life in Eng- land is wrapped up in Whiggery; tinged, indeed, on one side with the last faint remains of Jacobinism in the form of a quite unreal senti- mentality, on the other side, with the spirit of the age of Toryism and that of the Whigs, both of which had changed their form in abolishing the reactionary clogs on the progress of the middle- classes, had to disappear as elements which would have marred the end proposed by that revolution to wit, the creation of an all-powerful middle-class freed from all restrictions that would interfere with it in its pursuit of individual profit derived from the exploitation of in- dustries.

The first part of the eighteenth century, therefore, finds England once more and sedaled; all the old elements of disturbance and aspiration hardened into constitutional bureaucracy; religion recognised as a State formality, but having no influence whatever on the corporate life of the country, its sole raison d'etre being the self-propounding hard work of its employers.

The argument may be briefly stated thus: (1) Trades' unions are trying to gain justice for themselves under a system which is built upon the injustice done towards them; (2) The only way to abolish the injustice is to abolish the system that makes it possible and a necessity; (3) That, owing to the decline of trade, the unions cannot maintain their present position, and that the further decline will present two alternatives—gradual but certain extinction, or change of action which will result in a new era, in which the next question of course will be, What is the distinct aim and policy of such a body as the unions would then be? This I hope to answer in a future paper.

J. L. MATTHEW.
literature by a few word-spinning essayists and posh versifiers, priding themselves on a well-fed contempt for whatever was manly, passionate, or elevating in the wealth of the past of their own language.

Here then in England we may begin to see what the extinction of feudalism was to end in. Medieval England is gone, the manners and ways of the people are utterly changed, they can read English, but they are another people from that which dwelt in England when “forestalling and regretting” were misdemeanors; when the distribution of goods and division of labour was not yet; when both in art and literature the people of their social self, what of both there was, was produced by the people themselves. Genealogy is a militant Puritanism, buried deep under mountains of sordid formality. England is bourgeois and successful throughout its whole life; without aspirations, for its self-satisfaction is too complete for any, yet gathering force for development of a new kind,—as it were a nation taking breath for a new spring; for under its prosperous self-satisfaction a great national project is in progress, giving way to necessity, and all obstacles are being rapidly cleared away before the advent of a new epoch for labour; of which, indeed, we can see the most intelligent and vigorous labourer—right before our own eyes, England and England is at the time we are writing of simply preparing herself for that change. Her prosperity and solid bureaucratic constitutional government, with the development and unification of life in the country, are enabling her to turn all her attention towards this and the development of the natural resources in which she is so rich. The full of the feudal system, the invasion of the individualist method of producing goods, and of simple exchange of commodities, were bound to lead to the final development of the epoch—the rise of the great machine industries—and now the time for that development is at hand.

The revolution which is demanding more than the transitional methods of production can bring about. It has come, it is present, to supply the want of those intellectual and physical improvements which would have been the greatest disaster which has ever happened to the race of man. In our next chapter we shall deal with the elements at work in preparing the transformation of the commercial system, for which the development of the great machine industry was so necessary and so mighty a servant.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(The to be continued.)

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

With an assumption born of ignorance, the bipeds of this earth claim to know all that is known to any define as “God.” Civilised, while cant and hypocrisy reign supreme. Civilised, and yet in no less than three-quarters of a century more than 50,000,000 persons in every State of their ill-found state are in brutal work for the benefit of a brutal ruling class. Let us be modest and confess that we are only amongst the barbarians of Darwin’s men.—Peterson (N. J.) Labor Standard.

On the farm of a friend in New Jersey a hundred bushels of potatoes rooted in the ground and as many apples on the trees, some they could not be sold for sufficient to pay the cost of handling. Thirty miles away in Philadelphia—not to mention nearer places,—a thousand of people are starved for the want of an apple, and is it not the duty of the government to bring food and hungry people together? And if it fails in this why should we tolerate it any longer?—Labor Engineer.

As in every laboratory out of our way to insist that the demands of the labour movement must be brought about only by legal means, and frown down anything that in any way looks toward the use of the word and the weapon. “I don’t say there ever is a fair probability of success to do a right act, whether it be lawful or not, why, do it.” I contend that our demands are just; that we propose to have our rights; that we want the government to do its part, and that we can’t succeed that way will resort to revolutionary methods. This whining and making faces at the revolutionists is indicative of the dignity of any one who is honestly and earnestly in this movement. It is simply doing the work of capitalism.—J. A. Labadie, in Labor Leaf

In truth the Revolution cannot wait for the decision of those who hesitate, be slow to grasp the great fact of its coming. It is unnecessary for the worker to hold himself in readiness with firm and steady bearing, that he may not be at all times ready to meet the soil and sweep through its impetuous course down the mountain. The "grand industry" sweeps him up in its course; the machine, that great agent of the Revolution, and her progeny, the labor-saving devices, that kill the worker, are growing with a rapidity that is not to be stopped by the lawyer, the dandy, or the quack. "You wretched proletariat, slaves of capital, like to the old serfs of the soil. You must be created by your intelligence and for your use, but your intelligence and the development of your wants has caused me to fall into other hands with a quite different result from that aimed at in the beginning of your career. Now, here is my anger!—El Socialism.

Labor-saving machinery has of late years made gigantic strides in every branch of industry, that manual labour is being rapidly supplant by machinery, and it is evident that the capitalistic industry and the new inventions are the common property of our race and not the exclusive inheritance of the few, it is only just between man and man, that all alike share the rewards and blessings which they bring. So far, however, all these blessings have been quietly pocketed by monopolists and employers of labour, while, as matters, we are no worse, if anything it is questionable if the majority of the mechanical inventions yet made have helped the toil to grow and maintain, and therefore, that the industrial classes should rise like one man in self-defence and strike. The labour and wages of the labour should be reduced from time to time, in the same proportion as machinery has increased the production of wealth. The hours of toil are not reduced to protect the industrial classes, a system of land monopoly assisted by labour-saving machinery must, sooner or later, in every country, starve the great majority of the working class to fatten the few, and it is simply amazing that labour has not long since rebelled against such a flagrant injustice.—New Zealand Watchman.

THE PALACE OF ICE.

By Fernand Platoide. Translated by J. T. Jones.

Ye all, who ever suppose, has heard of that enormous icy dome, which covers the frozen Neva's flood there rose a house of frozen foam. A Royal Russian woman's whim conceived her castle, while it high Tier over tier of solid ice the frost-bound folly faced the sky.

Against the polished panes without the wintry wind blew cold as death, but balmy zeppelins breathed within their warm spring-scented flower beds.

Sweet music stole about the courts, bright lamps of crystal gleamed an aged, and over the floors of spacious halls the high-born merry-makers danced.

Thus till the days of midst March the wonderland that palace saw; But soon in Russian spring, ever so fresh, ever so tender, Hart! echoing louder than the Lord South-western storm resounds the cry: As headlong in the flattering flood the myriad sparkling fragments flash.

The waves in triumph clap their hands—so tightly bound in frost before. The angry waves that yesterday a court and its all folly, were tamed in a dumb, all the pomp of state above their heads to shroud or frown. And meek and mild allowed a queen beneath her feet to tread them down.

Now Neva claps her hands indeed! Right onward through the solid snow Right onward through the blocks of ice her furious waters foaming go; bit out all traces of her shame, and then, rejoicing to be free, Flow on in majesty and peace to mix with the eternal sea.

Ye who would fret Freedom's flood, and damp her torrent back by force— Like Neva she will burst her bonds, and rush resistless on her course; Will break the yoke she bore so long, dissolve her fetters in a trice. And whalen beneath her whirring waves the despot royal dome of ice.

Full well ye pran in it in your pride, or do your secret deeds of shame, As if the keels of spring shawled, yet the ice is not there. But see! the sun mounts slowly up; warm zeppelins whisper through the land; Your curling drapes ; your palace swims; the floor is floating where ye stand.

Oh fools, that fail overwhelmed would be! Ye prate and strive to make I shall to yonder melting slab of ice its duty to be freeze again. Once on its valid term the time is up! You fate will not put back the sun; The ice must crack and disappear when once the thaw is well begun.

Another Neva claps her hands! Right onward through the solid snow, Right onward through the blocks of ice her furious waters foaming go; bit out all traces of her shame, and then, rejoicing to be free, Flow on in majesty and might to mix with the eternal sea.

DICTIONARY FOR WORKING-MEN.

Ae—A stinging satire on human civilization. Capital—A subject which labouring-men must not talk about. Charity—The remission of sins, prefigured for the cure of discontent. Labour—A mouse invented as a plaything for a cat. Capital is the cat. Farm—a corn-field, where thieves get the harvest and owner gets the gleanings. Luxury—The rich cream taken by the few from the skim-milk allotted to the many. Money—The largest slave-holder in the world. Proprietary—a complicity on the part of working-men to better their condition. Party—An organisation to humbug the poor voter, run by wire-pullers in the interest of the master. Porridge—A flesh-eating bird, that lives on flesh and feather. Pay-day—The first week in May. The slave is given a day's wages, and the employer has the rest. —A skull, which brings the beer and beer. Political parties—a lot of planks covered with melodies to catch flies. Prophecy—The Siberian mine wherein the slaves dig out wealth for their masters. Peace—An oven, where society puts newly-made cake to harden. Shop—the bellows of the industrial organ, the blower of which is paid better than the artist who executes the composition. The Swastika—A nuclear change by which the thief passes through, which absorbs much and partially divides the rest. Socialism—A word that has its origin from studying the labour question. Statement—A man who might improve his time by studying the problem of wage-wait, but who generally stutters the interest of the men and email who put him into office. Taxes—Feathers plucked from all birds to line the nests of a few. Distribution—Kicking people on to their knees for the crime of standing upright. Wages—a collar round the neck of modern serfs, by which they proclaim their independence.

Food for coats between milking times. Inheritance—Being cheated in the eyes of labour. Wealth—Something which most people want, but of which those who create the most get the least share.

The fact is, as individualism suppresses individuality, so nationalism suppresses everything that is distinct, and the French is made a make-up a real and not an artificial nation. The sham community of the present—the nation—is formed for purposes of rivalry only and consequently suppresses the activity of labour in the development of the country, and, in reality, over other nations. The true community of the future will be formed for livelihood and the development of all human capacities, and consequently would avail itself of the varieties of temperaments and classes, by differences of surroundings which differentiate the races and families of mankind.—W. M.